1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less
reasonable. Unless their requirements happen to be similar, 596
what is given to one wife is by definition not given to the other. 578
Inevitably each believes that the other is the better treated. An elder brother often makes a conscious effort to treat his younger brother's wife with particular consideration and tact, supplying from the family purse without debate the money required for all her children's needs; shoes, a new jacket, medicine and so on. This may merely infuriate the elder brother's wife who sees herself and her children sacrificed to her husband's wish to maintain intact the relationship with his brother. On the other hand, the younger brother's wife is seldom grateful. She may not believe that she is being favourably treated and, at best, she will still resent the fact that she must apply to her husband's brother for the requirements of her children.

Yet the break-up of the united group of brothers is not due 596
to the quarrels of the wives alone. As his children pass out of 454
infancy, a father's thoughts are increasingly concerned with the problem of how to provide for their future. For instance, it may be necessary to practise extreme economy for a number of years, or even to borrow money to buy additional sheep, in an attempt to build up a flock large enough to support his sons and provide for his daughters' dowries. Obviously such operations can only be carried through efficiently and equitably when each brother has command of his own share of the family's stock.

The affairs of the family group led by Theodoros Ferendinos 596
(see Chart, page 74) illustrate these problems. After thirteen years together in an extended family the five brothers are considering the need to divide their household and the flocks. It is a family of moderate wealth and prestige owning 365 sheep and goats. The five brothers are known to be resolute, brave, and mutually devoted. Yet although I never observed an open [579]
quarrel between these brothers, friction is evident. Four of the brothers are married, two of them have children nearing school age while three of the eldest brother's children are already at school. They are all concerned as to how they will support these growing families. Theodoros the elder brother has four children, but the second and third brothers have only two each. While the group lives in one household it is clear that to some extent the younger brothers are carrying part of the burden of

[Text continues on p. 75]

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596 Admittedly every man must have
[577] some 'self-regard' (ἐγωϊσμός) but the family had to pay fifty shillings for this watch.

438 During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
443 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili
434 travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
528 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

/154 cont./

596 461 474 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 434 474 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dispostion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 434 474 454 556 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And [571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 474 556 571 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have repercussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/ a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
591 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
197 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
[436] who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

/379 cont./

182 596 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are 182 596 494 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception: it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 581 582 602 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group, to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 602 562 [596] Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 621 602 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the vendetta.

[571] [471] [434] [454] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained by *kinship*, *leads* to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.

182 596 562 428 583 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not even have the right to a dowry.